21.

# HIS MAIESTIES ANSVVER TO THE XIX. PROPOSITIONS OF BOTH *HOVSES* OF *PARLIAMENT*.

*WHEREVNTO IS ADDED*

The humble Petition and Advice of Both Houſes of PARLIAMENT, WITH XIX Propoſitions, and the Concluſion Sent unto His MAJESTIE the ſecond of *June*, 1642.

*H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com'.*

*LONDON*,
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# IS MAIESTIES ANSVVER TO the nineteen *Propoſitions* of both Houſes of PARLIAMENT.

BEfore We ſhall give you Our Anſwer to your Petition and Propoſitions, We ſhall tell you, that We are now clearly ſatisfied, why the Method, which We traced out to you by Our Meſſage of the 20th. of January, and have ſince ſo often preſſed upon you, as the proper way to compoſe the diſtractions of this Kingdom, and render it truly happie, hath been hitherto declined, and is at length thought fit to be looked upon; We now ſee plainly (and deſire that you, and all other Our good Subjects ſhould do ſo too) that the Caboliſts of this buſineſſe have with great Prudence reſerved themſelves, untill due preparations ſhould be made for their Deſigne.

If they had unſeaſonably vented ſuch Propoſitions, as the Wiſdom and Moneſtie of your Predeceſſors never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitors, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regall authority (which God hath entruſted Us with for the good of Our people) could receive without juſt indignation (and ſuch many of your preſent Propoſitionsare) their hopes would ſoon have been blaſted; and thoſe Perſons, to whom Offices, Honours, Power and Commands were deſigned, by ſuch ill timing of their buſineſſe, would have failed of their expectation, not without a Brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any of this nature ſhould appear, they have (certainly with great wiſdom in the conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troubleſome Rub in their way, *The Law*; To this end, (that they might undermine the very foundations of it) a new Power hath been aſſumed to interpret and declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Caſe judicially before either Houſe, (which is in effect the ſame thing as to make Laws without Us) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houſes (tending to a pure arbitrary power) were preſſed upon the people as laws, and their obedience required to them.

Their next ſtep was, To erect an upſtart Authoritie without Us, (in whom, and onely in whom the Laws of this Realm have placed that Power) to command the *Militia*, (very conſiderable to this their Deſigne;) In further order to it they have wreſted from Us Our Magazin and town of *Hull*, and beſtrid Sir *John Hotham* in his bold-faced Treaſon; They have prepared and directed to the people unpreſidented Invectives againſt Our Government, thereby (as much as lay

lay in their power) to weaken Our juſt Authority and due eſteem among th
They have as injuriouſly as preſumptuouſly (though we conceive by this
Impudence it ſelf is aſhamed of it) attempted to caſt upon Us aſperſions of an
heard of nature, as if We had *favoured a Rebellion in Our own Bowels*; They h
likewiſe broached new Doctrine, *That We are obliged to paſſe all Laws that ſhall
offered to Us by both Houſes* (howſoever Our own Judgement and Conſcience ſh
be unſatisfied with them) a point of Policie, as proper for their preſent buſine
as deſtructive to all Our Rights of Parliament; And ſo with ſtrange ſhameleſne
will forget a Clauſe in a Law ſtill in force, made in the ſecond yeer of King *H.*
wherein both Houſes of Parliament do acknowledge, *That it is of the Kings Re
lity to grant or deny ſuch of their Petitions as pleaſeth Himſelf*; They have interpr
ed Our neceſſary Guard, legally aſſembled for the Defence of Us and Our Ch
drens Perſons againſt a Traitor in open Rebellion againſt Us, to be *with intent
levie War againſt Our Parliament* (the thought whereof Our very ſoul abhorret
thereby to render Us odious to Our people.

They have ſo awed Our good Subjects with Purſivants, long chargeable A
tendance, Heavie Cenſures and illegall Impriſonments, that few of them du
offer to preſent their tenderneſſe of Our Sufferings, their own juſt Grievanc
and their ſenſe of thoſe violations of the Law, (the Birthright of every Subject
this Kingdom) though in an humble Petition directed to both Houſes, and if an
did, it was ſtifled in the Birth, called *Sedition*, and burnt by the common Han
man.

They have reſtrained the Attendance of Our ordinarie and neceſſarie Hou
hold-ſervants, and ſeized upon thoſe ſmall ſums of Money which Our Ctedit h
provided to buy Us Bread, With Injunctions That none ſhall be ſuffered to
conveyed or returned to Us to *York*, or any of Our Peers or Servants with Us,
that (in effect) they have blocked Us up in that County.

They have filled the ears of the people with the noiſe of Fears and Jealouſie
(though taken up upon truſt) tales of Skippers, Salt-Fleets, and ſuch like, by whi
Alarms they might prepare them to receive ſuch impreſſions, as might beſt ad
vance this deſigne when it ſhould be ripe. And now it ſeems they think we are ſuf
ficiently prepared for theſe bitter Pils, We are in a handſome Poſture to receiv
theſe *humble Deſires*, (which probably are intended to make way for a Superſeta
tion of a (yet) higher nature, (if We had not made this diſcoverie to you) for the
do not tell Us this is all. In them we muſt obſerve that theſe Contrivers (the be
ter to advance their true ends) diſguiſed as much as they could their intents with
mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man; Others, ſpe
cious and popular; And ſome which are already granted by Us; All which ar
cunningly twiſted and mixed with thoſe other things of their main Deſigne o
Ambition and private intereſt; in hope, that at the firſt view, every eye may no
ſo clearly diſcern them in their proper colours.

We would not be underſtood, That We intend to fix this Deſigne upon both
or either Houſe of Parliament; We utterly proteſſe againſt it, being moſt confi
dent of the Loyalty, good affections and integrity of the intentions of that grea

odie, and knowing well that very many of both Houſes were abſent, and many diſſented from all thoſe particulars We complain of: But we do beleeve, and accordingly profeſſe to all the world, that the Malignity of this Deſigne (as dangerous to the Laws of this Kingdom, the Peace of the ſame, and the Liberties of all Our good Subjects, as to Our Self, and Our juſt Prerogative) hath proceeded from the ſubtill Informations, miſchievous Practiſes, and evill Counſels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, diſaffected to Gods true Religion, and the Unity of the Profeſſors thereof, Our Honour and Safety, and the publike Peace and proſperitie of Our people, not without a ſtrong influence upon the very actions of both Houſes. But how faulty ſoever others are, We ſhall (with Gods aſſiſtance) endeavour to diſcharge Our duty with uprightneſſe of heart; And therefore ſince theſe Propoſitions come to Us in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, We ſhall take a more particular notice of every of them.

If the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 9. 10. 15. 16. 19. Demands had been writ and printed in a tongue unknown to Us and Our people, it might have been poſſible We and they might have charitably beleeved the Propoſitions to be ſuch as might have been in Order to the ends pretended in the Petition (to wit.) *the eſtabliſhing of Our Honour and Safety, the welfare and Security of Our Subjects and Dominions, and the removing thoſe Jealouſies and Differences which are ſaid to have unhappily fallen betwixt Us and Our people, and procuring both Us and them a conſtant courſe of Honour, Peace and happineſſe.* But being read and underſtood by all, We cannot but aſſure Our Self that this Profeſſion, joyned to theſe Propoſitions, will rather appear a Mockery and a Scorn; The Demands being ſuch, as We were unworthy of the truſt repoſed in Us by the Law, and of Our Deſcent from ſo many great and famous Anceſtors, if We could be brought to abandon that power which onely can inable Us to perform what We are ſworn to, in protecting Our people and the Laws, and to aſſume others into it, as to deveſt Our Self of it; Although not onely Our preſent Condition (which it can hardly be) were more neceſſitous then it is, and We were both vanquiſht, and a Priſoner, and in a worſe condition then ever the moſt unfortunate of Our Predeceſſors have been reduced to, by the moſt criminall of their Subjects; And though the Bait laid to draw Us to it, and to keep Our Subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promiſes *of a plentifull and unparaleld Revenue*, were reduced from generals (which ſignifie nothing) to clear and certain particulars, ſince ſuch a Bargain would have but too great a reſemblance of that of *Eſaus*, if We ſhould part with ſuch Flowers of Our Crown, as are worth all the reſt of the Garland, and have been tranſmitted to Us from ſo many Anceſtors, and have been found ſo uſefull and neceſſary for the welfare and Security of Our Subjects, for any preſent neceſſity, or for any low and ſordid conſiderations of wealth and gain. And therefore all men knowing that thoſe Accommodations are moſt eaſily made, and moſt exactly obſerved, that are grounded upon reaſonable and equall Conditions, We have great cauſe to beleeve, that the Contrivers of theſe had no intention of ſetling any firm Accommodation but to increaſe thoſe Jealouſies, and widen that diviſion, which (not by Our fault) is now unhappily fallen between Us and both Houſes.

BODLEIANA

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It is asked, *That all the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell, and such* (
know not what you mean by *such*, but We have cause to think you mean
*great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the Seas*, (For care is
ken to leave out no Person or place, that Our dishonour may be sure not to
bounded within this Kingdom, though no subtill Insinuations at such a dista
can probably be beleeved to have been the cause of Our distractions and dange
*should be put from Our Privy Councell, and from those Offices and imployments, unl
they be approved by both Houses of Parliament*, how faithfull soever we have fou
them to Us and the publique, and how far soever they have been from offend
against any Law, the onely rule they had or any others ought to have to walk
We therefore to this part of this demand return you this Answer, That we
willing to grant that they shall take a larger Oath then you your selves desire
your 11th. Demand, for maintaining not of any part but of the whole Law; A
We have and do assure you, That We will be carefull to make election of su
persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their ab
ties and integrities, and against whom there can be no just cause of exceptio
whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence; That if We have or shall be misi
ken in Our election, We have and do assure you, that there is no man so neer
Us in place or affection, whom we will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if yo
shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; And that W
have given you (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on Our part, an
the best securitie for the performance of their duty on theirs) *a Triennial Parli
ment*, the apprehension of whose Justice will in all probability make them war
how they provoke it, and Us wary how We chuse such, as by the discoverie
their faults may in any degree seem to discredit Our election. But that withou
any shadow of a fault objected, onely perhaps because they follow their consc
ence, and preserve the established Laws, and agree not in such Votes, or assent no
to such Bills, as some persons, who have now too great an Influence even upo
both Houses, judge or seem to judge to be for the publique good, and as are agree
able to that new *Utopia* of Religion and Government into which they endeavou
to transform this Kingdom; (for We remember what names, and for what Rea
sons you left out in the Bill offered Us concerning the *Militia*, which you hac
your selves recommended in the Ordinance) We will never consent to the dis
placing of any, whom for their former merits from, and affection to Us and th
publique, We have entrusted, since We conceive, That to do so, would take away
both from the affection of Our servants the care of Our service, and the Honou
of Our Justice. And we the more wonder, That it should be askt by you of Us
since it appears by the 12th Demand, That your selves count it reasonable, atte
the present turn is served, *that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hol
their places quàm diu se bene gesserint*. And we are resolved to be as carefull of thos
We have chosen, as you are of those you would chuse, and to remove none, til
they appear to Us to have otherwise behaved themselves, or shall be evicted by
legall proceedings to have done so.

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But this demand (as unreasonable as it is) is but one link of a great Chaine, l but the first round of that Ladder, which by Our just, Ancient, Regall wer is endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground. For it appeares plainly, t it is not with the Persons now chosen, but with Our choosing that you are pleased; For you demand, that the Persons put into the places & imployments those who shall be removed, may be approved by both Houses; which is so (as to some it may at first sight appear) from being lesse then the power of nomination, that of two things (of which We will never grant either) We would ooner be content that you should nominate, and We approve, then you approve, d We nominate; The meer nomination being so farre from being any thing, at if We could do no more, We would never take the paines to do that, when 'e should onely hazard those, whom We esteemed, to the scorn of a refusall, they hapned not to be agreeable not onely to the judgemnt, but to the passion, tereſt or humor of the present major part of either House. Not to speak now the great factions, animosities and divisions which this power would introduce both Houses, between both Houses, and in the severall Countries, for the choice persons to be sent to that place where that power was, and between the perns that were so chosen. Neither is this strange Potion prescribed to Us onely r once, for the cure of a present, pressing desperate disease, but for a dyet to Us d Our Posteritie; It is demanded, *That Our Councellors, all Chief Officers both of aw and State, Commanders of Forts and Castles, and all Peers hereafter made* (as to oting, without which how little is the rest?) *be approved of* (that is, chosen) *by em from time to time*; and rather then it should ever be left to the Crown (to hom it onely doth and shall belong) *if any place fall voyd in the intermission of Parament, the major part of the approved Councell is to approve them.* Neither is it onely emanded, that We should quit the Power and Right Our Predecessors have had f appointing Persons in these places, but for Counce:lors We are to be restrained, weil in the number, as in the persons, and a power must be annext to these plaes, which their Predecessors had not; And indeed if this power were past to them, were not fit We should be trusted to choose those, who were to be trusted as much as We.

It is demanded, *That such matters as concern the Publique, and are proper for the igh Court of Parliament*, (which is Our Great and Supream Councell) *may be deated, resolved and transacted onely in Parliament, and not elsewhere, and such as presume o do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the Censure and Judgement of the Parliament, and such other matters of State, as are proper for Our Privy Councell, shall be deated and concluded by such of Our Nobilitie* (though indeed, it being made by Us hey may not vote without the Consent of both Houses, We are rather to call hem your Nobilitie) *and others, as shall be from time to time chosen for that place, by pprobation of both Houses of Parliament; and that no publike Act concerning the affairs f the Kingdom, which are proper for Our Privie Councell, may be esteemed of any validiie, as proceeding from the Royall Authoritie, unlesse it be done by the Advice and Consent f the major part of Our Councell, attested under their hands.* Which Demands are of

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that Nature, that to grant them were in effect at once to depose both Our S and Our Posteritie.

These being past, We may be waited on bare-headed; We may have Our ha kist; The Style of Majestie continued to Us; And the Kings Authoritie, declar by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Style of your Commands; We m have Swords and Maces carried before Us, and please Our Self with the sight o Crown and Scepter, (and yet even these Twigs would not long flourish, wh the Stock upon which they grew were dead) but as to true and reall Power W should remain but the outside, but the Picture, but the signe of a King. We we ever willing that Our Parliament should debate, resolve, and transact such ma ters as are proper for them, as far as they are proper for them: And We hearti wish, that they would be as carefull not to extend their Debates and Resolutio beyond what is proper to them, that multitudes of things punishable, and caus determinable by the Ordinary Judicatures, may not be entertained in Parliamen and so cause a long, chargeable, fruitlesse attendance of Our People, and (by D grees) draw to you as well all the causes, as all the faults of *Westminster-Hall*, at divert your proper businesse; That the course of Law be no wayes diverted, muc lesse disturbed, as was actually done by the stop of the proceedings against a Ri in *Southwarke*, by Order of the House of Commons, in a time so riotous and tu multuous, as much increased the danger of Popular insolencies, by such a counte nance to Riots, and discountenance of Law; That you descend not to the leastu of recommending Lecturers to Churches, nor ascend to the Legislative powe by commanding (the Law not having yet commanded it) that they whom yo recommend be received, although neither the Parson nor Bishop doe approve o them; And that the Refusers (according to the course so much formerly com plained of to have been used at the Councell Table) be not sent for to attend t shew cause; At least, that you would consider conveniency, if not Law, and re commend none, but who are well known to you to be Orthodox, Learned, an Moderate, or at least such as have taken Orders, and are not notorious depraver of the Book of Common Prayer; A care which appeareth by the Discourses Sermons, and persons of some recommended by you, not to have been hitherto taken, and it highly concerns both you in dutie, and the Common-wealth in th consequences, that it should have been taken; That neither one estate transac what is proper for two, nor two what is proper for three, and consequently, tha (contrary to Our declared will) Our Forts may not be seised; Our Arms may not be removed; Our Moneys may not be stopt; Our Legall Directions may no be countermanded by you, nor We desired to countermand them Our Self, no such entrances made upon a Reall War against Us, upon pretence of an imagina ry War against you, and a *Chimera* of necessitie. So far do you passe beyond your limits, whilest you seem by your Demand to be strangely straitned within them. At least We could have wisht you would have expressed, what matters you mean as *fit to be transacted onely in Parliament*, and what you meant by *onely in Parliament*. You have (of late) been perswaded by the new doctrines of some few to thinke that proper for your debates, which hath not used to be at all debated within those

walls,

ls, but been truſted wholly with Our Predeceſſors and Us, and to tranſact thoſe ngs which without the Regall Authoritie, ſince there were Kings of this King- n were never tranſacted : It therefore concerns Us the more that you ſpeak t, and that both We and Our people may either know the bottom of your De- nds, or know them to be bottomleſſe. What concerns more the Publike, and more (indeed) proper for the high Court of Parliament, then the making of ws? which not onely ought there to be tranſacted, but can be tranſacted no here elſe; but then you muſt admit Us to be a part of the Parliament, you muſt t (as the ſenſe is of this part of this Demand, if it have any) deny the freedom Our Anſwer, when We have as much right to reject what We think unreaſo- ble, as you have to propoſe what you think convenient or neceſſary; nor is it ſſible Our Anſwers either to Bills, or any other Propoſitions ſhould be wholly e, if We may not uſe the Libertie of every one of you, and of every Subject, d receive advice (without their danger who ſhall give it) rom any perſon own or unknown, ſworn or unſworn, in theſe matters in which the Manage Our Vote is truſted by the Law, to Our own Judgement and Conſcience, hich how beſt to inform, is (and ever ſhall be) left likewiſe to Us; and moſt un- aſonable it were that two Eſtates, propoſing ſomething to the Third, that hird ſhould be bound to take no advice, whether it were fit to paſſe, but from oſe two that did propoſe it. We ſhall ever in theſe things which are truſted holly to Us by the Law, not decline to hearken to the Advice of Our great ouncell, and ſhall uſe to heare willingly the free debates of Our Privie Councell whenſoever We may be ſuffered to have them for ſending for, and they ſhall not e terrified from that freedom, by Votes and Brands of Malignants and Enemies o the State, for adviſing what no Law forbids to adviſe) but We will retain Our ower of admitting no more to any Councell then the Nature of the buſineſſe re- uires, and of diſcourſing with whom We pleaſe, of what We pleaſe, and infor- ning Our Underſtanding by debate with any Perſons, who may be well able to nform and Adviſe Us in ſome particular, though their Qualities, Education or ther Abilities, may not make them ſo fit to be of Our ſworn Councell, and not ye Our Self up not to heare any more then twenty five (and thoſe not choſen bſolutely by Us) out of a Kingdom ſo repleniſhed with Judicious and Experien- ed Perſons in ſeverall kindes. And though We ſhall (with the proportionable Conſideration due to them) alwayes weigh the Advices both of Our Great and Privie Councell, yet We ſhall alſo look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impoſitions; upon them as Our Counſellours, not as Our Tutors and Guardians, and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupill, or Ward; for whatſoever of Regalitie were by the Modeſty of Interpretation left in Us in the firſt part of the ſecond Demand, as to the Parliament, is taken from Us in the ſecond part of the ſame, and placed in this new fangled kinde of Counſellours, whoſe power is ſuch and ſo expreſſed by it, that in all publike Acts concerning the Affairs of this Kingdom, which are proper for Our Privie Councell (for whoſe Advice all publike Acts are ſometimes proper, though never neceſſary) they

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are desired to bee admitted joynt partners with us in the Regality, and it is not plainly expressed whether they meane us so much as a single Vote in these affaires; But it is plaine they meane Vs no more at most then a single Vote in them, and no more power then every one of the rest of Our Fellowes-Councellours; onely leave to Vs, out of their respect and duty, (and that onely is left of all Our ancient Power) a choyce, whether these that are thus to bee joyned with (or rather set over) Vs shall be fifteene or twenty five, and great care is taken that the Oath which these Men shall take, shall bee such, in the framing the former of which (though sure We are not wholly unconcerned in it) Wee may be wholly excluded, and that wholly reserved to be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

And to shew that no more care is taken of Our safety, then of Our power after so great indignities offered to Vs, and countenanced by those who were most obliged to resent them: After Our Towne and Fort kept from Vs (from which, if it were no otherwise ours then the whole Kingdom is, we can no more legally bee kept out then out of Our whole Kingdome, which sure your selves will not deny to be Treason) Our Armes, Our Goods sent away, and Our Money stopt from us, Ous Guards (in which Wee have no other Intention then to hinder the end of these things from being proportionable to their beginnings) are not onely desired to be dismissed before satisfaction for the injurie, punishments for the injuries, and care taken for Our future Security from the like: But it likewise desired (and for this Law is pretended, and might as well have beene for the rest, which yet with some ingenuity are it seemes acknowledged to be but Desires of Grace) that We shall not for the future raise any Guards or extraordinary Forces, but in case of actuall Rebellion or Invasion, which if it had beene Law, and so observed in the time of Our Famous predecessors, few of those victories which have made this Nation famous in other parts, could have beene legally atchived, nor could Our blessed predecessour Queene *Elizabeth* have so defended Her selfe in Eighty Eight. And if no Forces must be leavied till Rebellions and Invasions (which will not stay for the calling of parliaments and their consent for raising Forces) be actuall, they must undoubtedly (at least, most probably) be effectuall and prevalent.

And as neither care is taken for Our Rights, Honour, nor safety as a Prince, so Our Rights as a private person are endeavored to bee had from Vs, it being asked, that it may be unlawfull and punishable, not onely to *conclude*, but even to *treat of any Marriage with any Person for Our owne Children, or to place Governours about them, without consent of Parliament. and in the intermission of those, without the consent of Our good Lords of the Councell*, that Wee may not onely be in a more despicable state then any of Our predecessours, but in a meaner and viler condition then the lowest of Our Subjects, who value no liberty they have more, then that of the free Education and Marriage of their Children, from which We are asked to debate Our Selfe, and have the more reason to take it ill, that We are so, because for Our choice of a Governour for Our Sonne, and of a Husband for Our Daughter, (in which the Protestant Religion was Our principall Consideration) We conceived We had reason to ex-

pect your present thankes, and the increase of your future trusts.

We suppose these Demands by this time to appeare such as the Demanders can not be supposed to have any such reall feare of Vs as hath beene long pretended, they are too much in the style, not onely of equals, but of Conquerours, and as little to be intended for removing of Iealousies (for which end they are said to be asked, and that it is not as Merchants aske at first, much more then they will take, but as most necessary to effect it which (if they be) God helpe this poore Kingdome and those who are in the hands of such persons, whose Iealousies nothing else will remove) which indeed is such a way, as if there being differences and suits betweene two persons whereof one would have from the other severall percells of his ancient Land, he should propose to him by way of Accommodation, that he would quit to him all those in question, with the rest of his estate, as the most necessary and effectuall meanes to remove all those suits and differences. But we call God to witnesse, that as for our Subjects sake these Rights are vested in Vs, so for their sakes, as well as for our owne, We are resolved not to quit them, nor to subvert, (though in a *Parliamentary* way) the ancient, equall, happy, well-poised and never-enough commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, nor to make Our Selfe of a King of England a Duke of *Venice*, and this of a Kingdom a Republique.

There being three kindes of Government amongst men, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, and all these having their particular conveniences and inconveniencies. The experience and wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this out of a mixture of these, as to give this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can provide) the conveniences of all three, without the inconveniencies of any one, as long as the Balance hangs even betweene the three Estates, and they run joyntly on in their proper Chanell) begetting Verdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of either on either side raise no deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, the ill of Aristocracy is faction and division, the ills of Democracy are Tumults, violence and Licentiousnesse. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one head to resist Invasion from abroad, and Insurrection at home: the good of Aristocracy is the Conjunction of Counsell in the ablest persons of a State for the publike benefit: The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Liberty begetts.

In this Kingdom the *Lawes* are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular *Priviledges*: The Government according to these Lawes is trusted to the King, power of Treaties of Warre and Peace of making Peers, of chusing Officers and Councellours for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men to make Warre abroad or to prevent or provide against Invasions, or Insurrections at home, benefit of Confiscations, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kinde are placed in the King. And this kinde of regulated Monarchy having this power to preserve that Authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the

Lawes

Lawes in their Force, and the ſubjects in their liberties and proprieties, is intended to draw to him ſuch a Reſpect and Relation from the great Ones, as may hinder the ills of Diviſion and Faction, and ſuch a Feare and Reverence from the people, as may hinder Tumults, Violence and Licenciouſneſſe. Againe, that the Prince may not make uſe of this high and perpetuall power to the hurt of thoſe for whoſe good he hath it, and make uſe of the name of publique Neceſſity for the gaine of his private Favorites and followers, to the detriment of his people, the Houſe of Commons (an excellent conſerver of Liberty, but never intended for any ſhare in Government, or the chuſing of them that ſhould governe) is ſolely intruſted with the firſt Propoſitions concerning the Leavies of Moneys (which is the ſinews as well of Peace as Warre) and the impeaching of thoſe, who for their owne ends, though countenanced by any ſurreptiouſly gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knowes it) to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to adviſe him, at leaſt not to ſerve him in the Countrary. And the Lords being truſted with a Judicatorie power, are an excellent Screene and Banke between the Prince and people, to aſſiſt each againſt any Incroachments of the other, and by juſt Judgements to preſerve that Law, which ought to bee the rule of every one of the three. For the better enabling them in this, beyond the Examples of any of Our Anceſtors, We were willingly contented to oblige Our Selfe both to call a Parliament every three yeares, and not to diſſolve it in fifte dayes, and for the preſent exigent, the better to raiſe Money, and avoyd the preſſure (no leſſe grievous to Vs then them) Our people muſt have ſuffered by a longer continuance of ſo vaſt a Charge as too great Armies, and for their greater certainty of having ſufficient time to remedy the inconveniencies ariſen during ſo long an abſence of Parliaments and for the puniſhment of the Cauſers and Miniſters of them We yeelded up Our Right of diſſolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinary moderation from it in gratitude for ſo unexempled a Grace, and little looking that any *Malignant Party* ſhould have beene encouraged or enabled to have perſwaded them, firſt to countenance the Injuſtices and indignities Wee have endured, and then by a new way of Satisfaction for what was taken from Vs to demand of Vs at once to Confirme what was ſo taken, and to give up almoſt all the reſt.

Since therefore the power Legally placed in both Houſes is more then ſufficient to prevent and reſtrain the power of Tyranny, and without the power which is now aſked from us, we ſhall not be able to diſcharge that truſt which is the end of monarchy, ſince this would be a totall Subverſion of the Fundamentall Laws, and that excellent Conſtitution of this Kingdom, which hath made this Nation ſo many yeers both famous and happy, to a great degree of Envie; ſince to the power of puniſhing (which is already in your hands according to Law) if the power of preferring be added, We ſhall have nothing left for us, but to look on; ſince the incroaching of one of theſe Eſtates upon the power of the other is unhappy in the effects both to them and all the reſt; ſince this power of at moſt a joynt Government in us with our Councellors, (or rather our Guardians) will return us to the worſt kinde of minority, and make us,

despicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternall factions and Dissetions (as destructive to publike happinesse as War) both in the chosen and the houses that chuse them, and the people who chuse the Chusers; since so new a power will undoubtedly intoxicate persons who were not born to it, and beget not onely divisions among them as equals, but in them contempt of us as becomean equall to them and Insolence and Iniustice towards our people, as now so much their inferiors, which will bee the more grievous unto them, as suffering from those who were so lately of a neerer degree to themselves, and being to have redresse onely from those that placed them, and fearing they may be inclined to preserve what they have made, both out of kindenesse and policie; since all great changes are extreamly inconvenient, and almost infallibly beget yet greater Changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniencies,

Since as great an one in the Church must follow this of the Kingdome, Since the second Estate would in all probabilitie follow the Fate of the first, and and by some of the same turbulent spirits Iealousies would be soone raised against them, and the like propositions for reconciliation of Differences would be then sent to them, as they now have joyned to send to Vs, till ( all power being vested in the House of *Commons* and their number making them incapable of transacting affairs of State with the necessary secrecie and expedition; those being retrusted to some close Committee ) at last the Common people ( who in the meane time must be battered, and to whom Licence must bee given in all their wilde humours, how contrary soever to established Law, or their owne reall good ) discover this *Arcanum Imperii*, that all this was done by them, but not for them, grow weary of Iourney-worke, and set up for themselves, call Parity and Independence, Liberty; devour that Estate which had devoured the rest; destroy all Rights and proprieties, all distinctions of Families and merit: And by this meanes this splendid and excellently distinguished forme of Government and in a darke equall *Chaos* of confusion, and the long line of our many noble Ancestors in a *Iack Cade*, or a *Wat Tyler*.

For all these reasons to all these demands Our Answer is *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutarii*: But this we promise, that wee will be as carefull of preserving the Lawes in what is supposed to concerne wholy Our Subjects, as in what most concerns our selfe: for indeed We professe to beleeve, that the preservation of every Law concernse Vs, those of obedience being not secure, when those of protection are violated; And we being most of any injured in the least violation of that, by which We enjoy the highest Right, and greatest benefits, and are therefore obliged to defend no lesse by our interest then by Our duty, and hope that no Iealousies to the contrary shall be any longer nourished in any of Our good People by the subtill insinuations, and secret pretences of men, who for private ends are disaffected to Our Honour and safety, and the peace and prosperity of Our good *Peohle*, And to shew you, that no just judignation at so reproachfull offers shall make us refuse to grant what is profitable to conduce ro the good of our people, because of the ill company it comes in, We mill search carefully in this heap of unreasonable demands, for so much as wee may ( complying

plying with Our conſcience, and the duty of Our truſt) aſſent unto, and ſhall accordingly agree to it.

In purſuance of which ſearch in the fourth propoſition, under a demand, which would take from us that truſt which God, Nature, and the Lawes of the land have placed in us, and of which none of you could endure to bee deprived; Wee could finde ſomething to which we give this Anſwer, that we have committed the principall places about our Children to perſons of quality, integrity and pyety, with ſpeciall regard that their tender yeares might be ſo ſeaſoned with the principles of the true proteſtant Religion, as (by the bleſſing of God upon this our care) this whole kingdom may in due time reape the fruit thereof: and as We have beene likewiſe very carefull in the choice of Servants about them, that none of them may be ſuch, as by ill principles, or by ill examples to croſſe our endevours for their pious and vertuous Education, ſo if there ſhall bee found (for all our care to prevent it) any perſon about our children (or about Vs, which is more then you ask) *againſt whome both Houſes* ſhall make to Vs *any juſt exception*, We ſhall not onely *remove* them, but thanke you for the Information; onely Wee ſhall expect, that you ſhall bee likewiſe carefull that there bee no under-hand dealing by any to ſeeke faults, to make room for others to ſucceed in their places.

For the Fift Demand, as wee will not ſuffer any to ſhare with Vs in our power of Treaties, which are moſt improper for Parliaments, and leaſt in thoſe Treaties which Wee are neerlyeſt concerned, not onely as a King but as a Father, yet wee doe (ſuch is Our deſire to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction) aſſure you by the word of a King, that Wee ſhall never propoſe or entertaine any Treaty whatſoever for the marriage of any of Our Children, without due regard to the true Proteſtant profeſſion the good of our Kingdoms, and the Honour of Our Family.

For the Sixt Demand, concerning *the Lawes in force againſt Ieſuits, Papiſts, and Popiſh Recuſants*, Wee have by many of our Meſſages to you by our voluntary promiſe to you, ſo ſolemly made never to pardon any popiſh prieſt, by our ſtrict proclamations lately publiſhed in this point, and by the publique Examples which wee have made in that cate ſince Our Reſidence at *York*, and before at *London* ſufficiently expreſſed Our zeal herein. Why doe you then ask that in which Our owne inclination hath prevented you? And if you can yet finde any more effectuall Courſe to diſable them from diſturbing the State or eluding the Law by truſts or otherwiſe, Wee ſhall willingly give Our Conſent to it.

For the Seventh concerning the *Votes of Popiſh Lords*. We underſtand that they in diſcretion have withdrawn themſelves from the ſervice of the Houſe of peeres, (and had done ſo when uſe was publikely made of their names to aſperſe the Votes of that Houſe, which was then counted as Malignant as thoſe (who are called *Our unknowne and unſworne Councellors*) are now) neither do we conceive that ſuch a poſitive Law againſt the Votes of any whoſe blood gives them that right is ſo proper in regard of the priviledge of parliament, but are content, that ſo long as they ſhall not be conformable to the Doctrine and Diſciplin

ſcipline of the Church of England, they ſhall not be admitted to ſit in the houſe of peeres, but onely to give their proxies to ſuch proteſtant Lords as they ſhall chuſe, who are to diſpoſe of them as they themſelves ſhall think fit, without any Reference at all to the Giver.

As to the deſires for *a Bill for the eduction of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant Profeſſion*, many about Us can witneſſe with Us, That We have often delivered Our opinion, that ſuch a courſe (with Gods bleſſing upon it) would be the moſt effectuall for the rooting out of popery out of this Kingdom; We ſhall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and when it comes unto Us do our Duty: and we heartily wiſh for the publick good, that the time you have ſpent in making Ordinances without us, had been imployed in preparing this and other good Bills for us.

For the Eighth, touching *The Reformation to be made of the Church Government & Liturgie*, we had hoped that what we had formerly declared concerning the ſame, had been ſo ſufficiently underſtood by you and all good Subjects, that We ſhould not need to have expreſſed our Selfe further in it. We told you in our Anſwers to your petition preſented to us at Hampton-Court the firſt of December, *That for any illegall Innovations which may have crept in We ſhould willingly concur in the removall of them. That if Our Parliament ſhould adviſe Us to call a Nationall Synode, which may duly examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt cauſe of Offence to any, We ſhould take it into Conſideration and apply Our Self to give due ſatisfaction therein: That We were perſwaded in Our Conſcience, that no Church could be found upon the Earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine, then the Church of England doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are iointly more beautified, and free from Superſtition, then as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law:* which (by the grace of God we will with Conſtancy maintain (while we live) in their purity and Glory, not onely againſt all invaſions of popery, but alſo from the irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts wherewith of late this Kindom and our City of London abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of church and State, For the ſuppreſſion of whom We required your timely and active aſſiſtance. We told you in our firſt Declaration printed by the advice of our privie Councell, *That for differences amongſt our ſelves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We ſhould in tenderneſſe to any number of Our loving Subjects very willingly comply with the advice of Our Parliament that ſome law might be made for the exemption of tender conſciences from puniſhment or proſecution for ſuch Ceremonies and in ſuch Caſes, which by the judgement of moſt men are held to be matters indifferent, and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawfull. Provided that this eaſe ſhould be attempted and purſued with that Modeſtie temper, and ſubmiſſion, that in the meantime the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed the Decencie and Comelineſſe of Gods Service diſcountenanced, nor the Pious, Sober, Devout Actions of thoſe Reverend Perſons who were the firſt Labourers in the bleſſed Reformation or of that time, be ſcandalled and defamed.* And We heartily wiſh that others whom it concerned, had been as ready (as their duty bound them, though they had not received it

from

from Us) to have pursued this Caution, as We were, and still are willing and ready to make good every particular of that promise. Nor did we onely appear willing to joyne in so good a work, when it should be brought us, but prest and urged you to it by our message of the fourteenth of February in these words, *and because his Majestie observes great and different troubles to arise in the hearts of his people, concerning the Government and Liturgie of the Church, His Majestie is willing to declare, That he will refer the whole consideration to the wisdome of his Parliament, which he desires them to enter into speedily that the present distractions about the same may be composed: but desires not to be pressed to any single Act on his part, till the whole be so digested and setled by both Houses, that his Majestie may cleerly see what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away*: of which we the more hoped of a good successe to the generall satisfaction of our people, because you seeme in this propostion to desire but a Reformation, and not (as is daily preached for as necessary in those many Conventicles which have within these nineteen moneths begun to swarme, and which though their Leaders differ from you in this opinion, yet appeare to many as countenanced by you, by not being punished by you, (few else, by reason of the Order of the House of Commons of the ninth of September, daring to do it) a destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgie. And we shall most cheerfully *give Our best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers*, in such course as shall be most for the encouragement and advancement of piety and Learning.

For the Bills you mention, and the Consultation you intimate, knowing nothing of the particular matters of the one (though we like the Titles well) nor of the manner of the other, but from an informer (to whom we give little credit, and we wish no man did more) Common fame, We can say nothing till we see them.

For the eleventh We would not have the *Oath of all privie Councellors and Judges* straitned to particular statutes of one or two particular parliaments, but extend to all Statutes of all parliaments, and the whole Law of the Land, and shall willingly consent *that an enquirie of all the breaches and violations of the Law may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings bench every Terme, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits and Justices of Peace at the Sessions to be presented and punished according to Law.*

For the seventeenth We shall ever be most ready, (and we are sorry it should be thought needfull to move us to it) not onely to joyn with any (particularly *With the States of the united provinces*, Of which we have given a late proofe in the Match of our daughter) *for the defence and maintenance of protestant Religion, against all designes and attempts of the pope and his adherents* but singly if (need were) to oppose with our life and fortune *all such designes* in all other Nations, were they joyned: and that for considerations of Conscience, far more then any temporall end *of obtaining accesse of strength and reputation*, or any naturall end *of restoring Our Royall Sister and her princely Issue to their Dignities and Dominions* though these be likewise much considered by us.

For the 18. It was not our fault, that an Act was not passed to *cleare the Lord*

*King*

*Kimbolton, and the five Members of the House of Commons*, but yours, who inserted such clauses into both the preamble and Act (perhaps perswaded to it by some who wish not that you should in any thing receive satisfaction from Vs) as by passing the preamble we must have wounded our honour against Our Conscience, and by another Clause have admitted a consequene, from which We could never have beene secured, by declaring, *That no Member of either House, upon any Accusation of Treason could have his person seized without the consent of that House, of which he is a member*: though the knowne Law be, *That priviledge of parliement extend not to Treason*, and if it did, any Member (the House being for a short time adjourned, and so their consent not being so had) how treasonable soever his intentions were how clearly soever known and how suddenly soever to be executed, must have fair leave given him to go on and pursue them, no way, how Legall soever, after the passing such a Clause, being left to prevent it.

To conclude, We conjure you and all Men to rest satisfied with the Truth of our professions, and the Reality of Our Intentions; not to aske such things as deny themselves; That you declare against Tumults, and punish the Authors; That you allow Vs Our Propriety in Our Townes Armes, and Goods, and Our Share in the Legislative power, which would be counted in Vs, not onely breach of priviedge but Tyranny and Subversion of parliaments to deny to you: And when you shall have given Vs satisfaction upon those persons who have taken away the One, and recalled those Declarations (particularly that of the 26. of *May*) and those in the point of the *Militia*, (Our just Rights, wherein We will no more part with then with Our Crowne, least wee inable others by them to take that from Vs) which would take away the other; and declined the beginnings of a War against Vs, under pretence of our intention of making one against you: as We have never opposed the first part of the 13. Demand, so We shall be ready to concurre with you in the latter.

And being then confident that the Credit of those Men, who desire a generall Combustion, will be so weakned with you, that they will not be able to this Kingdome any more harme, We shall be willing to grant our generall pardon, with such exceptions as shall be thought fit, and shall receive much more joy in the hope of a full and constant Happinesse of our people in true Religion, and under the protection of the Law, by a blessed Vnion betweene Vs and our Parliament (so much desired by Vs) then in any such increase of our owne Revenue (how much soever beyond former Grants) as (when our Subiects were wealthiest) our parliament could have setled upon Vs.

FINIS.